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OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF DRAWING SUPPLIES OF COTTON AND SUGAR FROM BRITISH INDIA FOR THE USE OF THE HOME MARKET.

THE development of the resources of British India, whether viewed in its political or its commercial bearing, is an object of primary importance. Nor, it may be added, is it less so when regarded in its results on the welfare of the natives of that part of the British empire, and the interest of humanity at large.

Commercially speaking, England is at this moment dependent for a large measure of her prosperity upon foreign countries, one of the chief materials of her manufactures, cotton wool, as well as many other articles of great importance to her national prosperity, being almost entirely supplied by them, while it is perfectly evident that our own possessions alone are capable of producing almost all. This places her in circumstances of disadvantage, politically speaking, if not of danger, which it is expedient should be removed as soon as possible.

To show the nature of this dependence, the following statistics are given with reference to cotton wool, although similar statistics might be given in connection with articles of equal importance, such as sugar, linseed, hemp, &c. In 1825, the imports of American cotton amounted to 356,618 bales; in 1830, to 512,664 bales; in 1835, to 676,568 bales; in 1840, to 956,025 bales; in 1841, to 983,536 bales; in 1842, to 964,441 bales; in 1843, to 1,286,233 bales; and in 1844, to 1,158,323 bales. This prodigious increase in the supply of cotton wool for the manufactures of this country, however advantageous it may have proved hitherto, is no guarantee for the future and permanent prosperity of that great branch of national industry. A rupture with the United States would paralyse, if not destroy it; an insurrection of the slave population, by whom the cotton is exclusively raised, would be attended with the same results; a contest between the United States and Mexico would not improbably be scarcely less disastrous. How important then to the welfare of this country that she should be no longer dependent for this chief article of her manufacturing consumption upon the United States. Nor need she be so; British India can supply her with the material she requires in abundance. "You," said Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, in 1833, "consume 318,000,000 lbs. of cotton, which proceed from slave labour, and only 45,000,000 lbs. which proceed from free labour, and that too while you have all the means in India, at very little expense, of obtaining all you require from free labour." Policy requires that this source of supply should be diligently looked after, and that efforts should be made to render it available for the benefit of both India and Great Britain at the earliest possible period. It is easy to conceive how deeply the manufacturers are interested in this subject. The vast capital embarked by them should be rendered as secure as possible, for upon that security will mainly rest hereafter the ability to employ the vast body of operatives of all classes dependent upon them. M'Culloch estimates the capital embarked in cotton manufactures in this country at 34,000,000*l.*; the number of operatives employed, at the most moderate computation, to be from 1,200,000 to 1,400,000 souls, and the wages circulated amongst them to amount to 21,000,000*l.* sterling. Baines agrees with M'Culloch as to the amount of capital embarked in cotton manufactures, but says the number of operatives amounts to 1,500,000; and is of opinion that the annual produce of the cotton manufacture of the United Kingdom must be between 30,000,000*l.* and 34,000,000*l.* The latter sum is M'Culloch's estimate. Nor is the merchant scarcely less interested. As the medium of communication between the seller and the buyer he has large interests at stake. He seeks a market for his goods, and the United States at the present time is one of his best markets; but he is subject to many grievous disadvantages and drawbacks. Two may be enumerated—the American tariff which seriously limits his sales, and places the balance of trade against him, and the non-employment to a vast extent of British shipping in the carrying trade between the United States and Great Britain. On the first point we find that in the year 1840, the imports from Great Britain into the United States amounted to 60,277,000 dollars. Imports from the British North American and West Indian colonies to 3,225,000 dollars; exports to these colonies, 9,368,000 dollars. Balance of trade against Great Britain and her colonies, 32,578,000 dollars. On the second point, shipping, it appears that the quantity of foreign shipping which entered and cleared in the ports of the United States in 1839-40 amounted to 1,148,849 tons, whilst the amount of American shipping which entered out from those ports

during the same period was 3,223,955 tons. The effect of all this may be seen in the following statement. In 1832-3 the quantity of cotton wool consumed in the United States amounted to 194,412 bales, in 1842-3 to 325,129 bales and in 1844 to 346,744 bales. But the mischief does not end here, for not only is the market in the United States becoming restricted to the British merchant in consequence of America herself becoming a manufacturing country and thereby consuming her own cotton wool, but our manufacturers, who are almost entirely dependent upon America for this article of manufacture, must ultimately find that the manufacturers of that country will be able to meet them in the markets of the world, and subject them to a severe competition. It is perfectly clear that this competition could be met, and these disadvantages overcome, were we to rely solely on our own resources for the supply of this important article of consumption.

The value of the cotton wool received from the United States is estimated at from 6,000,000*l.* to 7,000,000*l.* per annum; the export of cotton goods to that country at from 1,250,000*l.* to 1,500,000*l.* per annum; but if British India could be made the source of supply to this country of cotton wool, British shipping, instead of American, would be employed in the transport of merchandise both to and from British India. The amount of tonnage employed by the United States with this country is reckoned at nine-tenths of the whole. There can be little doubt, that when these facts are fully known, merchants and manufacturers will be equally anxious to draw their supplies of this article from British India, to the greatest possible extent, as a mere question of profit. Another view of the subject may be taken, chiefly, however, interesting to the philanthropist. The cotton imported from the United States is raised by the labour of slaves. Three millions of the African race, or their descendants, are there reduced to that horrible and degraded condition. Bringing the cotton wool of British India into competition with that of the United States, would go far to uproot the system of American slavery, and probably to destroy it. Under a just government, says a writer in 1840, we might make ourselves independent of the United States, and low as the price of Upland cotton now is (6*d.*), it might be brought still lower. On account of its superior cheapness the cotton wool of British India has superseded to a considerable extent the produce of Brazil. In 1831 the imports of the Brazilian cotton amounted to 174,508 bales, in 1835 to 157,316 bales, in 1839 to 124,887 bales, in 1840 to 103,414 bales, and in 1844 to 111,706 bales, and it may be added that the Indian article is able also to compete in price with many qualities of the American cotton. The following extracts from cotton brokers' circulars bearing on these points are extremely interesting and valuable. Worthington and Cunningham in their circular of January, 1841, observe, "It is probable for these reasons, that is, the difficulties of the times and the improvements in machinery, quite as much as to the fact of their relative high and low prices, that Brazil and Surat, as compared with American cotton, have the one been in very limited and the other in very great demand during the year." The Associated Cotton Brokers' Annual Circular of the 1st Jan., 1841, contains the following statements:—"The deliveries of Surat to the trade have been uncommonly heavy, say on the average of the last five months 3,000 bales per week—a fact which, after making a liberal allowance for what is held by the spinners, still indicates an enormous consumption, and satisfactorily explains the disproportionate reduction in the low qualities of American. Long-stapled cottons of all descriptions, from the state of the demand for the finer numbers of yarn, have been dull, and declining almost from the beginning of the year to the end." They add further, "that Egyptians have fallen 3*d.* per lb., having been constantly on the decline, and all sorts of Brazil are also 1½ per lb. lower than at the same time last year, the demand for neither one description nor the other having amounted to briskness at any one period of the year. The war with China still continues, and whether peace be restored soon or not, a large supply of Surat is on the way, and the growth, moreover, is said to be much increased." The circular of Messrs. T. and H. Littledale, dated December 31, 1841, states—"That the very low rates which have been submitted to have induced many spinners to use Surat, and in many quarters machinery has been adapted to their exclusive use, with great success and profit, notwithstanding the unprecedented low prices of yarn and goods. Surats are also now used extensively for mixing with common American." Hayward and M'Vicar, in their circular for 1841, observe:—"The main facts now before us, and upon which we have to bear any opinion for the coming season, are the probable supplies from India and America, the import from Egypt, Brazil, &c., not being likely to vary much from 1841. The receipts from India are liable to several contingencies. Production is, undoubtedly, making rapid strides in that country, and efforts superior to any that have ever been previously attempted are now in progress still further to extend the growth and improve the quality. Nor as a matter of interest

should it pass unobserved, that whilst the consumption of American descriptions has diminished, that of India has greatly augmented, and this more especially within the last three months, when the low prices at which the latter were obtainable, together with the discouraging state of trade, had called them into general use."

Three things appear to be necessary to accomplish the great objects which the merchant, the manufacturer, and the philanthropist have in view—quantity, quality, price. First, quantity.—With respect to the capabilities of British India for supplying the British manufacturer with an adequate quantity of cotton wool, there cannot be two opinions among those who have paid any attention to the subject. Cotton is indigenous to the soil of India. Its inhabitants have been famed in times past for the extent, texture, and beauty of their cotton fabrics. It is the opinion of scientific and practical men that India can produce cotton in the proportion of millions to hundreds. Dr. Rayle says, "The three presidencies contain land capable of growing cotton to an illimitable extent." Malte Brun observes that "the cotton-tree grows on all the Indian mountains, but its produce is coarse in quality. The herbaceous cotton prospers chiefly in Bengal and on the Coromandel coast; and there the best cotton goods are manufactured. Next to these two provinces, Madurée Marawar, Pescaria, and the coast of Malabar produce the finest cotton." He elsewhere says, "Cotton is cultivated in every part of India. The finest grows in the light rocky soil of Guzerat, Bengal, Oude, and Agra." Mr. Crawford, the author of "The History of the Indian Archipelago," says—"There is a fine variety of cotton in the neighbourhood of Dacca, from which I have reason to believe the fine muslins of Dacca are produced, and probably to the accidental discovery of it is to be attributed the rise of this singular manufacture; it is cultivated by the natives alone, not at all known in the English market, nor, as far as I am aware, in that of Calcutta. Its growth extends about 40 miles along the banks of the Megna, and about three miles inland." Central India is at the present moment the great source of supply; but we must not omit to mention that in the districts of Surat, Guzerat, and Broach, cotton is also grown in large quantities, and that these are nearer the port of shipment, and consequently more easy of access. These districts offer, therefore, a balance to the difficulties of transit which materially presents itself to the mind when Central India only is mentioned. Though British India still manufactures cotton goods, it does not export them except to a very limited extent. Capital and machinery, combined with the high rate of duties levied on Indian cotton goods imported into this country, have destroyed its power to export. Those duties were, until the new tariff came into operation, 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, whilst those on British fabrics imported were only 2½ per cent. British India now imports largely both cotton yarn and cotton goods, and will import more largely still if this country takes what she can supply in exchange for her raw material. Cotton goods imported into India in 1815 amounted to 263,000 rupees; in 1835 to 4,000,000 rupees; cotton twist imported in 1815 to 8lbs.; in 1836 to 6,600,000 lbs.

It is extremely gratifying to observe, that there has been a large increase in the imports of cotton wool into this country since the year 1825. According to tables compiled with great care it appears that in the year 1825 the quantity of cotton imported amounted to 39,567 bales; in 1834, to 80,801 bales; and in 1844, to 239,718 bales. The export of cotton to China is considerable, and will no doubt become larger now that our friendly relations are established with that country. A comparative statement of the quantity of cotton exported from the whole of British India to Great Britain and China during the five years ending 1841-42 gives the following results:—Great Britain, 330,629,830 lbs.; China, 452,795,315 lbs. (English). The average export per annum has been during this period—to Great Britain, 66,125,966 lbs.; to China, 90,559,063 lbs.

Second, Quality.—The cotton of commerce is of two kinds. First, the long-stapled, such as the American Sea Island, the West India, South American, and Bourbon cottons; and, secondly, the short-stapled, such as Upland Georgia and New Orleans. The former, however, are in comparatively restricted demand; the latter form the main source of supply to our manufactures; and of this kind is the cotton of India. In quality the Indian wool compares most nearly with the finest American, and, could its staple be a little improved, would rival it in the British market. "It is likewise distinguished," observes Dr. Rayle, "from the American short-stapled cottons for some good qualities. The first of these is colour, by which yarn and cloth in which it is employed are much improved in appearance. The second is the swelling of its thread, which, when the cloth is bleached, enables the intermediate vacancies to be filled up, giving the whole a more substantial appearance. The third good quality is that in dyeing it takes the colour more uniformly than other cottons. The best quality of the Bombay cottons are those from Broach and Surat, which, in good seasons, are found to be equal to middling-bowed Georgia. With respect to long-stapled cottons, the presumption is that they can be grown in India of an equally fine texture with those of America."

In reference to Indian cotton wool the following statement is extracted from a digest of the evidence taken by the Lords' Committee in 1830:—"Indian cotton is usually at two-thirds the price of American of the same staple; it is shorter stapled than the short-stapled American. It is inferior from the use of the native seed, and from its dirty state. Some of the best Surat cotton is nearly as good in quality as Georgia, but it is 40 per cent. worse in price from the American being better grown and cleaner. Very clean Indian cotton would approach nearly to the price of American. It is very possible to improve the growth of cotton in India by improved cul-

tivation and selection of seed. Bombay cotton might be grown as good as Sea Islands." A digest of the evidence in the Commons' Reports of 1830-1 yields the following statements:—"Cotton is not sown in drills, as in America, but broad cast; there is no care taken of it afterwards, except to keep the cattle out of it. The cotton plant, at Bombay, is almost entirely an annual, a green seed and short-stapled. The ordinary cottons cultivated are, for the most part, the coarsest, because they are the most easy to rear; the finer varieties are very rare, because the people have not skill to keep them up; they are, in fact, delicate plants in comparison. The Indian cotton is short in the fibre, and strong in the staple, coarse, and always very dirty." The evidence received by the Commons' Committee, in 1832, informs us, that the cotton of India is bad, but, from experiments lately made, there is no doubt if good seed were procured, beautiful cotton might be produced abundantly. (Mackenzie, Braken, Wallich.) The failure of the natives in producing superior cotton is not so much to be attributed to their want of skill as to that extraordinary feature in their character, that they will not do that at a greater advance of capital, or with greater exertion which would give them a better return, if they can get it for less trouble by the use of less capital: they are the most improvident of the whole human race in this respect. India produces of itself every variety of cotton. The justly celebrated Sea Island cotton is actually in cultivation in several places in India, but owing to the manner of husbandry among the natives, it very soon loses all its principal character for goodness, and returns to the quality of the original wild species. Proximity to the sea appears to be a necessary condition for continuing the excellence of cotton, but the miserable husbandry is quite sufficient to deteriorate any cotton. That brought home is extremely foul. From the manner in which the cotton is cleaned, parts of the oily substance of the seed are allowed to remain in; and that not only discolours the cotton, but gives it a peculiar liability to become mouldy. It is conveyed to Calcutta in badly constructed boats without any sufficient protection from the weather, after lying on board four or five months, it arrives, as might be expected, in a dirty and filthy state. It is then put into cotton screws, which are not worked in a proper manner, and is subjected to an unequal pressure. With a quantity of seed screwed in it, and in the state of dampness and mouldiness in which it is imported into Calcutta, it is sent on board ship for England. It is impossible that the finest cotton could under such treatment arrive here in better state than the Bengal cottons do.

Dr. Wallich, the superintendent of the botanical garden at Calcutta, gives the following encouraging statement in a letter to the Hon. George H. Tucker, dated October 12, 1828:—"That there is a sort of cotton, the produce of the West Indies, rather of Barbadoes, which has been cultivated with complete success in the Company's territories, I can assert with confidence, because I am in possession of an extract of a general commercial letter from the court, transmitted to me officially from the Board of Trade at Calcutta, in which it is pronounced equal if not superior to any kind procurable in the London market. I cultivated it at the garden of Tittygheer, near Bowackpore, during several years in which that establishment continued attached to the botanic garden at Calcutta." Dr. W. adds, "That in asserting the high capabilities of the Company's territories for the growth of the finest cotton, experience, and not theory, is the ground on which he has proceeded." The following extract from the circular of Messrs T. and H. Littledale, dated December 31, 1841, will show some of the causes of the deterioration of the cotton wool of British India which can easily be removed. They say, "The quality of the late imports differs little from that of former years, the greater portion being more or less leafy, and not free from seed, the last being the most objectionable, and well worth the attention of the growers, with a view to free it from this serious deterioration." The experiments which have been tried under the direction of the East India Company to improve the quality of the cotton, have, upon the whole, been very satisfactory, especially at Dharwar. In that district the natives have been induced to adopt a better mode of cultivation than their own, with pleasing results. The American seed, which has been tried on some of the experimental farms of the Company, has done well. It is, however, doubtful whether the native seed, properly cultivated, does not succeed quite as well as the American which has been tried. From the facts collected it is believed that the quality of Indian cotton may be so improved as to rival, in every respect, the produce of the United States. Of this there can be little doubt—that larger quantities of Broach and Surat cotton would find a market in this country, if the supply could be relied on.

Thirdly, Price.—This varies in different districts, and the expenses of transit vary also. One fact, however, is clear—that cotton wool, even in the imperfect state in which it is now brought into this country, is purchased from the native grower, taken to Bombay, and shipped to Great Britain in yearly increasing quantities; a proof that it yields a profit both to the grower and the purchaser. The cultivation of cotton under European management would in certain districts be imprudent, and there the purchase of the kupas, cotton in the seed, for cleansing and shipment, would consequently be a safe investment of capital. The cultivators could also be assisted, with great advantage to themselves and the object sought to be accomplished, by the advance of money to the ryots on favourable terms. At present those who borrow pay enormous interest for the money lent them by the native shraffs. The crops would be the guarantee for the re-payment of principal and interest; and were the ryots dealt with upon equitable terms, there can be no fear that the result would be advantageous to both parties. As to the price

of India cotton in Great Britain, it depends rather upon the degree of its cleanness, than upon its quality. All that is required to improve its quality and appearance appears to be, judicious cultivation, careful picking, proper cleansing and packing, none of which at present are much attended to. In an official report by Dr. Lush, superintendent of the Botanical Garden at Dapoorie, on this subject, it is observed:—"The presence of the leaf, which grows under the pod, is the main cause of the inferiority of our Indian cotton in the English market. This, with other impurities, gets into the mass of cotton in the act of picking in the field, and, under ordinary circumstances, cannot be afterwards got rid of. The radical remedy for this is to pick the cotton in the field with greater care, as is done in America, by carefully pulling the cotton out of the pod, and not snatching at the pod itself; and separating the cotton picked into two portions—one of the first quality free from leaf and dirt, and the other such as may be entangled with the leaf and other impurities." Mr. Hunt, an English dealer says:—"It appears to me that the cause of the depreciation (of the Surat cotton) is principally owing to the very slovenly way in which the crop is gathered from the plant; and without a thorough reform in that particular, it will be of little use introducing seed, or increasing the expense of cultivation in other respects."

With respect to improved cultivation, that is likely to be accomplished by the example afforded by experienced men now in the service of the East India Company. As a proof of this it may be mentioned that at Dharwar the natives are cultivating about 3000 acres after the American mode, with every prospect of success. As to clean picking, that can only be secured by constant superintendence and vigilance. Probably premiums given to the cultivators for the best picked cotton would be attended with beneficial results. As to cleaning, the churka used by the natives of India appears best adapted to the cotton grown in India; the sawgin injuring the fibre, which is said not to be quite so strong as the American. The churka, however, does not clean above 40 lbs. a day, whilst by the sawgin 1400 or 1500 may be cleaned. An instrument, however, supposed to possess the excellences of the churka and the sawgin, has been constructed in this country, and sent to the three Presidencies for trial.

The price of American bowed cotton in December, 1842, was 4d. and 6d., Surat 3½d. and 4½d.; in 1844, bowed 3½d. and 5d., Surat 2½d. and 4d. It thus appears that American bowed Georgia enjoys at present an advantage in the market, varying from 1d. to 1½d. per lb. over Surat. At the present time the price of cotton wool is extremely low, the stock on hand being large, and the forthcoming American crop promising to be large also. The stock of cotton on hand on the 31st December, 1842, was 564,530 bales; in 1844 it was 903,107 bales. The freight, insurance, brokerage, &c., on Indian cotton wool can be easily ascertained. Probably at no period could calculations be made with more certainty of a safe result than at present. The price of cotton was never so low, and it is expected cannot go much lower. Besides which, the increasing demand for cotton goods for the home as well as the foreign market holds out the expectation that capital employed in this direction will be found both a profitable and safe investment. In this country everything is favourable to such an experiment as the formation of a British India commercial company, with a sufficient capital. In India everything is equally favourable. The transit duties, which recently bore so oppressively on the people, are abolished. There are no fiscal imposts on the export of cotton from India to Great Britain. Railroads are contemplated and likely to be executed, and carried into the very heart of the cotton districts. The government functionaries, both in India and in England, express themselves highly favourable to such a movement honourably originated and faithfully executed.

There are, however, some drawbacks against the complete success of such a measure, but which it is in the power of the Government and the East India Company to remove. The land-tax, which in many districts has been redeemed, still prevails in others; but if this were placed upon a healthy footing, so as to relieve industry on the one hand, and admit of the investment of capital in the purchase of land on the other, the greatest advantages would arise. The tax levied upon tools should be entirely removed. But Government should proceed further than this. The means of cheap transit are required, good and safe roads, canals, bridges, and other improvements of a similar character, would invite British capital, skill, and enterprise; and these, combined with native industry, a fertile soil, a genial climate, and improved cultivation, would secure to India and to England markets of the richest and most important kind, whilst in return England would confer upon her the most solid advantages. If it should be said that in destroying the market of this country for the sale of American cotton we should lose 17,000,000 of customers; it may be replied, that in giving India that market we should gain 100,000,000 of customers.

At all events this is certain, if India can supply cotton of equal quality and similar price with that from America, she will confer a vast boon on this country; and should she be able to supply it at a less cost, which it is believed with proper attention she may, she will be a mighty instrument in the hand of Divine Providence of breaking down one of the most execrable tyrannies that exists on the face of the earth. These considerations should secure for this object the warm sympathy and hearty co-operation of every British patriot and of every Christian philanthropist.

ON USING ARTICLES PRODUCED BY SLAVE LABOUR.

(Extracted from the Minutes of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends.)

The subject of freely using and trading in articles produced by the labour of slaves, has claimed the very serious consideration of this meeting, and under the impressions attending, we are induced to invite our beloved friends to unite with us in a careful examination of it.

That the system of slavery involves in itself a great departure from those principles of moral rectitude which the Christian religion not only inculcates, but enjoins, is a truth readily admitted. And this being conceded, the deeply interesting inquiry is suggested, whether by freely purchasing the produce of slave labour, we are not strengthening the hands of the oppressor, and lending our aid in riveting the fetters upon the galled limbs of the slave?

In the early settlement of America, when there was little known of the manner in which slaves were procured in Africa, and the purchase of them here was deemed favourable to both master and slave, Friends not only purchased and held slaves, but even engaged, to a limited extent, in the foreign slave-trade. At an early period in the history of this trade, a few Friends were enlightened to see the sinfulness of it, and after long and arduous labour with their brethren, the conviction of its sinfulness so prevailed, that this traffic was relinquished. The next step in the progress of reform, was to refrain from the purchase and sale of those slaves already in the country. Our worthy forefathers, however, continued to hold their fellow men in bondage, because they had not sufficiently examined the subject in the light of truth; for when in the lapse of time, through an increase of light, they became convinced that this practice also was wrong, they united in abolishing it.

But before this was entirely effected, there were enlightened and faithful members of our religious society, who, in consideration of the great injustice inseparably connected with the system of slavery, and also the intimate relation subsisting between slaveholders and the purchasers and consumers of the products of slave labour, were induced to believe that, as faithful and consistent advocates in the cause of universal righteousness, it was required of them to abstain from the use of articles produced by the labour of slaves. Among these, it is well known, that that deeply instructed and devoted servant of Christ, John Woolman, occupied a prominent place. And from his day, down to the present, the same testimony has been upheld by many of our most worthy and enlightened members. But is it not an inquiry demanding our most serious thoughtfulness, whether the advancement of this testimony, within the limits of our Society, has fully kept pace with the increase of light and knowledge; and whether our sympathy with the slave, in the long continuance of that weight of affliction, under which he is bowed down, has been so lively, and our eye so singly directed to the pointings of duty in this matter, as to prepare us to perceive and faithfully to follow the manifestations of the Divine will?

"The trading in," says John Woolman, "or frequent use of any produce known to be raised by those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to me to be a subject which may yet require the more serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ the Prince of Peace. After long and mournful exercise, I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with desires, that if it please the Lord further to open his will to any of his children in this matter, they may faithfully follow him in such manifestation."

"The determined manner in which the slaveholder still continues to grasp his victim, and the horrors inseparably connected with the foreign and the domestic slave-trade, are circumstances which press this subject upon our attention, and in the most forcible manner urge us to discuss the matter with candour and freedom."

"Customs generally approved, and opinions received by youth from their superiors, become like the natural produce of the soil, especially when they are suited to favourite inclinations; but as the judgments of God, by which the state of the soul must be tried, are without partiality, it would be the highest wisdom to forego customs and popular opinions, and try the treasure of the soul by the infallible standard, truth. Christ, our holy leader, graciously continueth to open the understandings of his people, and as circumstances alter from age to age, some who are deeply baptized into a feeling of the state of things, are led by his Holy Spirit into exercises in some respect different from those which attended the faithful in foregoing ages, and from a clear conviction, they may see the relation of one thing to another, and the necessary tendency of each; and hence it may be absolutely binding upon them to desist from some parts of conduct, which some good men have been in."

Thus it was with members of our religious society, in regard to a participation in the foreign slave-trade; and again, in relation to the domestic traffic in slaves. It was thus with them, also, in regard to the holding of slaves, and why it should not be so, as relates to the disuse of the products of slave labour? If we examine the connection existing between the slaveholder and the consumer of the produce of slave labour, must we not admit that it is of a very intimate nature, and that its tendency is to support the system of slavery?

To hire a slave, and pay the wages of his labour to his master, would be deemed nearly equivalent to slaveholding.

If this slave toils for his master, and we purchase freely the produce of his labour, do we not contribute as effectually to the gain of the slaveholder, as in the preceding case? If another person purchases this produce for the purpose of traffic, and we buy of him for

the purpose of consuming it, is not another link added to the chain; and is not the connection with the slaveholder, as complete as in the first instance? It is true, that we are further removed from the scene of oppression—and it may be that this increased distance has tended to pacify the conscience, in a course that is not consistent with sound reasoning; and thus may we not have contributed too long, to encourage, by our conduct, a system of oppression, the existence of which we have so sincerely lamented?

When we reflect that the precepts of the Christian religion require us to cherish a feeling of sympathy with our fellow men, in the varied difficulties and sufferings which attend them—"to weep with those who weep"—"to remember those who are in bonds, as bound with them; and those who suffer afflictions, as being ourselves also in the body"—and think of the long series of years, during which the slave has been chained and tasked, and his sweat exacted—and how entirely those rights, which are the gifts of a beneficent Creator, bestowed alike upon all men, as blessings to sweeten life, are torn from him—is there not a pressing and solemn obligation resting upon us, carefully to examine, whether we do in any way contribute to the continuance of this system of oppression?

"It may be urged in favour of using the proceeds of slave labour, that if we do not use it others will, and that our abstinence will not arrest or mitigate the evil, and therefore we may innocently derive from it a good to ourselves." But might not an argument like this have been urged with equal fitness, by our Friends formerly, in favour of their participation in slaves and the slave-trade?

It may be said that in refusing to use the produce of slave labour, we adopt a compulsory measure, and undertake to coerce the slaveholder to liberate his slaves—that the principle of abstinence, if carried out, would compel many persons to leave their accustomed employments—that trade itself would be subjected to a convulsion, the extent of which cannot be foreseen—that the slaveholder, deprived of his income by our abstinence, would be unable to provide for the maintenance of his slaves, and that increased sufferings and perhaps starvation would be the consequence.

When arguments like these are balanced against the positive and monstrous evils of slavery, to which they tend to serve as props, and we for a moment suppose ourselves in the condition of the enslaved, and then bring those arguments to that moral test of right in our own bosoms, which is always in perfect agreement with the precept enjoined by our holy Redeemer, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," does not the conviction fasten upon us, that such arguments are too light to sustain a system by which millions of our fellow men are deprived of those inalienable rights, which are the gifts of God bestowed alike upon all?

Let us trace out the probable consequences of declining the use of the products of slave labour. A considerable number of persons refusing the use of such produce, would at once create a demand for similar articles produced by free labour. In the commencement, the supply of such produce would not be fully equal to the demand, and some advance in the price might be expected. This would stimulate to increased production, and the quantity of such goods would increase. While the supply was thus enlarging, may we not hope that the example of those who conscientiously declined to participate in the fruits of slave labour, would work conviction in the minds of others, and that the number would increase? The slaveholders seeing the progress of a more elevated public sentiment, might be induced to meet the change—not by starving their miserable slaves, but by changing their condition from "chattels to men." This change would be commenced, doubtless, by a few of the most enlightened slaveholders, who, perceiving that there was really an honest testimony abroad against slavery, which refused all participation in its fruits, might enter themselves into the spirit of the reform, and meet the sentiment in its fulness.

Thus the impression at first would be made on the outskirts of slavery. And while the demand for the produce of free labour was gradually increasing, and preparation for supplying the demand was constantly enlarging, a decided impression would be made on the market for slave goods. Under a decaying demand for such goods, no prudent slaveholder would add to the number of his slaves. The slave merchant would be less disposed to prosecute his illegal and hazardous enterprise. The inducement to rear slaves to supply the internal traffic would be diminished, and the whole system of slavery would be weakened.

In this view, nothing presents itself having the appearance of an attempt to coerce, nothing to compel persons to leave their accustomed employments, nothing to produce embarrassments, much less convulsions in trade, and nothing that threatens the slave with the suffering of famine in addition to his bonds, in consequence of the inability of his master to provide for his wants. He pursues his own course, until either the convictions of duty, or the prospect of advancing his interest, induce him to change. The movement, indeed, speaks to the slaveholder in intelligible and forcible language. It tells him he is inflicting upon his fellow man an injury which every free man, in his own case, would deem insupportable, and calling loudly for retributive justice. It tells him that the "hire of the labourers which have reaped down his fields, which is by him kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped, are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth," and that there is an elevated tone of moral feeling abroad in the land, that cannot participate in the fruits of labour so unjustly exacted—that dare not contribute to that gain, which is the inducement to such grievous oppression, lest it should also partake in its sins. Can it be doubted that a moral influence would attend such a movement, that would be extensively felt by the slaveholders themselves?

Nor should the difficulties which are anticipated deter us! There is a force in united efforts, especially when enlisted in the cause of virtue, which, if they are discreetly and perseveringly conducted, can achieve wonders. It is true, that at the present time, the products of slavery are so intertwined with our varied occupations and wants, that we scarce can see how to disengage ourselves from them; yet if our attention be singly fixed upon the pointings of truth, in reference to this subject, we may reasonably trust, that it will guide us rightly, and prepare our way before us. In ancient days, when the progress of a people, who were journeying by divine direction, was obstructed by a river which spread its breadth in their way, they were required to advance until the soles of their feet pressed the margin of the stream—and thus standing, the retreating waters gave way before them, and they passed over dryshod. If following this example, we proceed as far as we can, and there stand, willing to advance if a way can be discovered, all past experience unites in bearing its testimony in favour of the belief, that little by little, the difficulties will yield, until the whole are surmounted.

Some sacrifice of interest would be required, and some personal indulgence, for a time, must be dispensed with. But it is by no means a new thing, that sacrifice should be required for the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness in the earth. Indeed, if we look back upon the past, will it not appear that sacrifice has been the price at which reformation in the world has been carried forward? It has been the lot of our religious society to participate largely in trials of this kind, nor is it easy to conceive on what ground we can expect to be excused from them, until righteousness be established in the earth, unless, indeed, it should be for the mournful reason, that we have departed from our proper position in the militant Church.

In the consideration of this matter, our minds have been seriously affected. We wish not to promote a feverish excitement in relation to this great subject, but we desire that all may unite in calmly and carefully considering it. If we admit the correctness of the position that "it is the market for slave produce, which makes slavery," we must feel that it is a serious matter to be customers in this market. The circumstance of long usage may be presented as a plea in favour of the continuance of the use. But the subject of inquiry is, whether a system of injustice and oppression has not been strengthened by this long usage? May we consider the matter with that seriousness and candour which the case justly calls for! "If our hearts are softened and expanded by the love of God, we shall be prepared to view these oppressed people as children of the same Almighty Father, equally with ourselves the objects of His divine regard, and of that salvation which comes by Jesus Christ; and thus be enabled to enter into a lively feeling of the miseries and hardships they endure; to put our souls in their souls' stead, and in singleness of heart to follow every opening of duty in their behalf, whatever sacrifice it may cost us, either of worldly treasure or personal comfort.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

STOKE NEWINGTON LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.—This Association intends sending a Box of Useful and Fancy Articles to the Annual Bazaar, to be held at Boston, United States, in the 12th month, (December next,) in aid of the Massachusetts Abolition Society. Contributions will be thankfully received from any of our friends interested in and desirous of assisting the great cause of Abolition in America, by Ann Darton, 33, Bishopsgate-street, London, and by J. Jefferson, and S. A. Alexander, Stoke Newington; Mary Foster, and S. A. Alexander, Secretaries. N.B.—Articles should be sent by the end of the 10th month (October.)

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 1, 1845.

WE have devoted a large part of our paper to-day to the very interesting and important question of substituting the produce of free labour for that of slave labour. On our first page appears a document relating to the culture of cotton in British India, which was a short time since addressed as a memorial to Sir Robert Peel, as the head of her Majesty's Government, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. It is, we believe, the most complete summary of facts in relation to this subject at this moment in existence, and the statements it contains will be read with interest. It is gratifying to be able to say that Mr. Arbutnot replied on behalf of the Premier in terms of great courtesy, and conveying an assurance that the paper should engage the attention of the members of the Government at large. Another document highly worthy of attention in our columns to-day expounds the duty of using articles produced by free labour in preference to articles produced by slave labour. This is extracted from the Minutes of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends for the present year, and

may justly be commended to an attentive perusal. Much in this respect was done by British abolitionists in an earlier stage of the controversy, by the preference given to East India sugar; and we have no doubt but the same effort would be repeated if articles manufactured with East India cotton could, in a trustworthy manner, be brought into the market. It is known to us that attention is directed to this subject, and it will afford us the sincerest gratification if a plan for effecting the very important object in view can be matured.

Our contemporary the *Times* had a few days since in its leading article a stirring comment on the fact of a large number of shackles having been found in the *Missouri*, an American war steamer, lately wrecked near Gibraltar. A correspondent of the same paper, who signs himself "An American," thus notices the statements made in the *Times*.

"I am quite certain your correspondent has magnified the number of 'shackles' brought up by the divers; but if he has not, you may rely upon it that the American Government, and the American Minister, who was on board, were utterly ignorant of their existence. For there was not, and is not, a member of the American Government, or an American plenipotentiary, who did not, and does not, hold in as great abhorrence the detestable crime of conveying slaves from the coast of Africa as your own fair Queen, or any of her philanthropic ministers.

"That slavery exists in some of our states is lamentably true; but its existence must be for ever attributable to the original traffic under the sanction of the British Crown. The archives of the British Government will show that the ancestors of the slaves now in the United States were sent thither into captivity under the countenance and protection of a British monarch, and that a solemn stipulation secured a large share of the profits of the traffic to the Crown."

For ourselves we are not greatly concerned to inquire into the strange facts brought to light by the wreck of the *Missouri*. They doubtless deserve attention; but compared with the denial to three millions of our fellow men of the right of personal freedom, and the consequences of that vast wrong, the object for which twenty thousand shackles could be intended, however guilty, shrinks into insignificance. We must, however, protest against the weak and wicked endeavour to make the Government of England prior to the American revolution "for ever" guilty of maintaining slavery in the United States of America. We do this with the greater confidence, because Great Britain has set an example to America which that country ought not to be slow to follow.

We are glad to be able once more to congratulate our American friends, and the friends of the slave everywhere, on the evident progress of the abolition cause in the free portion of the United States of America, and in some of the northerly slave states. We hope that great good will result from the Convention of the friends of liberty in the eastern and middle states, to be held at Boston on the day on which our paper is published. We would further commend to our friends on the continent of Europe the noble example of unwearied and energetic effort set by their transatlantic fellow-labourers in the cause of the slave.

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

We mentioned in our last that the current number of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* is devoted almost entirely to an examination of the acts and influence of the body named at the head of this article. The step is a vigorous, and even a bold one, but it has been long called for, and will, there is no doubt, produce a very beneficial effect. Unable as we are to transfer the entire matter to our columns—it occupies eleven closely printed pages—we shall yet give a summary of it in as short a compass as we may. The following extract contains a statement of the case.

When the present anti-slavery movement began in this country the points of objection that laboured most in the general mind, and with which we had mostly to contend, respected the danger of immediate emancipation to the master's person and life; its ruin to his property and pecuniary interests; the better condition of the slave than the free negro; the slave's inability to provide for himself, if free; the mass of pauperism and crime that would be let loose on the public; the division of the Union that would ensue; the rush of the blacks to the North to underwork the Northern labourer, to fill our almshouses and jails, and worse than all, to marry our sons and daughters, and be our representatives and governors! These, and such like constituted then the chief debatable ground. They are now to all practical purposes carried.

There is, however, one point, concerning which great progress has been made, but whose general practical admission remains to be carried, and in respect to which, as involving the immorality of slavery, the influence of the American Board has been, and is, most directly felt. It was, and is admitted, that slavery in the general, in the abstract, as a system, is wrong; but it was maintained, and still is, that as an individual practice, in consideration of the difficulties of emancipation, the kind treatment of the slaves, the good intentions of the master, &c., it is not wrong; or, if wrong in the abstract, is not so wrong, in the concrete, as to involve the individual in sin and make him blameworthy in regard to it; and, least of all, so blameworthy as injuriously to affect his Christian character and standing, and make him the proper subject, in appropriate times and ways, of Christian discipline. All this, it will be seen, is practically one point. It is whether individual slaveholding is, on any grounds, sinful, and so sinful as to impair one's character and standing as a Christian, and, if not forsaken on due admonition, make him a proper subject of Christian discipline.

This is now, emphatically, the vital point in the anti-slavery movement. This carried, either on grounds of essential principle or Christian expediency, the whole battle is virtually won. On this we now meet, and have long met the stoutest resistance from the apologists and defenders of slavery. They have quoted us extreme cases—not as exceptions, going, if real, to prove the rule, but as proofs against the rule. They have sought to shift the rule to the ground of the sinfulness of the thing, when done "for the sake of gain"—not seeming to reflect, that to pray for the sake of gain, or do the most rightful thing in the universe, would be as truly sinful; nay, that on such ethics, slaveholding is as rightful a thing as praying; and that the slaveholder may, on the same ground, torture, violate, and murder his slave, or anybody else, and yet be innocent! They have laid metaphysics, philosophy, theology, hermeneutics, the Bible, under contribution; and summoned great names and little, churches, ecclesiastical bodies, and missionary and benevolent associations against us on this point.

Still, even here, we have made steady, great, and wide-spread advances. The number of churches and ecclesiastical bodies of every name, that have declared slavery to be utterly opposed to the spirit and principles of the gospel, and its practice therefore sinful, is very great. But, to say nothing of these, the general ecclesiastical bodies of seventeen hundred Free Will Baptist and five hundred Reformed Presbyterian churches, have set down slaveholding, after due admonition, as a forfeiture of regular standing in the Christian church. Some thousands of individual Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, and other churches, have done the same. Many individual churches, and one flourishing religious denomination, have been organized on this ground. The General Associations of New York, Wisconsin, Illinois, and some other States or large sections of country; the Baptist Conventions of Vermont, Michigan, and some other States and large sections, several Presbyterian synods, and some hundreds of local associations, conferences, presbyteries, and the like, have taken the same position. On the ground of Christian expediency, if not of inherent and essential sinfulness, the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States has suspended slaveholders from the exercise of ministerial and episcopal functions. The American Baptist Home and Foreign Mission Boards have declared it to the world as their settled policy, to employ no man who holds slaves as a missionary. Not less than three missionary boards have been forced into existence, chiefly to open an outlet to missionary charities that were wont to flow through the American Board. Abroad, the representatives of anti-slavery Christendom, with Thomas Clarkson at their head, and on motion, support and concurrence of John Angell James, and such like, have twice proclaimed to the world their conviction, that slaveholding does affect Christian character and standing, and, on due admonition, ought to be made a disciplinable offence in Christ's house.

And where, amid all this, stands the American Board on this great issue? We answer—In resistance to the general progress, and on the side of slavery. To the present hour, at no point of contact and in no instance of action, has the Board ever declared, or admitted, or acted on the admission of the sinfulness of slaveholding; and in no one form or occasion has it declared, admitted, or acted on the admission that, on the grounds of principle or expediency, slaveholding is to be regarded and treated as injuriously affecting one's Christian character and standing. So far from it, though occasions have been frequent, demanding it, the Board has steadily and studiously refused to make any such declaration or admission, or take any such action in respect to either particular. Though often urged to it, providentially and by the friends of the slave, it has as often refused to say or do aught that should express, assume, or imply the immorality of slavery as such, or that should, in any way, question the consistency of slaveholding with a blameless, and approved Christian character and standing. This is a sad statement, we are aware; but proceed now to show its sober truth.

The proof of it is this—that the Board has never expressed an opinion to the effect that slavery is a moral evil or opposed to the gospel, and has never, in word or deed, made slaveholding a ground of discrimination in the election or continuance of corporate members, the solicitation or reception of funds, the employment or support of agents, missionaries, or mission churches. No man has been any the less eligible to election and continuance as a corporate member because of his practice or justification of slavery. In no form has the Board declared or admitted that slavery is an unjust and dishonest means of gain, and that it therefore solicits and receives its gains only as in other cases of injustice and wrong. At no time has it refused appointment and support as missionaries to slaveholders; nor withdrawn countenance and support from missionaries and mission churches who welcome slaveholders to a good and regular standing in their bosom; nor, in any form, avowed it as its settled policy to do so in time to come. On the contrary, when urged by the friends of the slave and the providence of God, to do these things, it has steadily and resolutely refused, or done the opposite.

The document from which we are quoting then enters into a detailed examination of facts relating to the following points:—1, The allowance granted by the Board to its missionaries to purchase slaves with its funds, and to hold them as such until they had worked themselves free; 2, the solicitation and reception of funds from slaveholders; 3, the employment of slaveholders as missionaries; and 4, the welcome of slaveholders to mission churches. Having made good the charge against the Board on all these points, the writer shows that on various other great questions of morals, such as the peace question, and the temperance question, the Board has acted freely and vigorously; while upon the anti-slavery question it has not merely studiously and tenaciously evaded any action hostile in principle to slavery, but has positively discouraged the anti-slavery proceedings which took place among their missionaries at the Sandwich Islands. The concluding appeal is in these terms:—

Fathers and Brethren of the Board!—In the name of the slave in this land, of an enslaved and benighted world, and of Him whose gospel of deliverance you are set to propagate, we entreat you, hear us. We are not your enemies, nor the enemies of your cause, though we thus speak. We are its friends, and yours. Your cause is our cause. We seek its welfare, not its hurt; its highest efficacy, not its embarrassment. But we must tell you, that our hearts, and the hearts of thousands of your best

friends, have long been sad at this strange avoidance and resistance of the claims of the oppressed. We have waited anxiously and long for some change, we have sought it in every direct and appropriate way. We have waited and sought in vain, until the conviction has been forced upon us, that we owe it to you, to the slave, and to God, to appeal to the public. As your own Evarts thought of your duty in respect to the action of Georgia and the Federal Government, in the removal of the Indians, so we think, respecting your course in regard to the slave, "that we are not bound to conceal our opinion; but, on the contrary, we are bound to declare it plainly, at least once." As he said in that case, we say in this, we "do not think we can stand acquitted before God or posterity, unless we bear a testimony against this course of proceeding." We have borne it. If occasion compel, we shall bear it again. We mean, with Evarts, "to clear our skirts."

We beseech you, pause! We prescribe no terms; we dictate no specific action. We are among those who believe that a new Home and Foreign Missionary Society is demanded to take charge of fields immediately related to the people of colour, bond and free, which neither you, nor any existing board, will ever be likely or able, advantageously and adequately to occupy. Consultations have been had with reference to its formation. We desire that, when formed, you shall occupy such a position on the subject of slavery as to enable it to act in perfect harmony and good fellowship with you. Decisive steps for its formation have been deferred for some time, and are still deferred, mainly, that you may have the fullest opportunity to say and do, on the whole subject, all that you deem right and proper; and that you may act in the case with entire freedom.

And now, we entreat you, act. Do not wound the Christian conscience and religious sensibilities of thousands of your devoted friends—do not weary their forbearance longer. Heed the cry and the claim of the slave. Thrust him not beyond the limits of your charter and the scope of your object. Say not that the question of his wrongs and deliverance does not come across your path and obstruct your work. It meets you everywhere, and, of second causes, is everywhere your great obstruction. It has lost you, by your course respecting it, the hearts and charities of many; and, if no change ensue, must lose you those of more than you are yet aware. It has lost you the confidence and personal services of some of the choicest spirits in the land, who would otherwise have gladly gone to the heathen under your direction. It has lost you numbers of your best missionaries. And as to your work among the heathen, slavery meets you at every point. It broke up your missions among the Indians. Twenty-four years ago, (Her. vol. xviii, p. 77,) it would not let a child of God, a slave, unite with one of your Choctaw churches. Among the Cherokees, spite of one-fourth of a century's influence of your gospel among them, it has recently passed a law, "that the slaves shall not be taught to read." It stood equally in your way at the Sandwich islands. The hideous remnants of it that remain and are, some of them in the bosom of your churches, stand in your way still. More than one witness concurs in the belief that your work there has gone about as far as it can go—till farther inroads are made upon the prevailing oppression. In fact, you cannot find a heathen nation, that is not a nation of oppressors and oppressed—of slave-despots and slaves. The Master whose gospel you are set to bear says, these things "shall not be so among you." You have yet to learn heathenism, if you do not know, that it is everywhere nothing but the religion of oppression—that it is always in alliance with oppression—that its great work is to sanctify and serve oppression; and that, in turn, it is ever enthroned by, and has its strength and life from oppression. No; the conflict that is to shake down heathenism is not with its poetries, and geographies, and chronologies, and astronomies, and cosmogonies, and philosophies, and mythologies, but with its oppressions. And the gospel that is to wage this conflict, amid the persecutions, it may be, of primitive days, is not the gospel of a new geography, and a new chronology, and a new astronomy, and a new cosmogony, and a new philosophy, and a new mythology merely, but the gospel of a new outward as well as inward life—the gospel that points the heathen ritualist to the one propitiation, as the essence and end of all; and then sends him, as the only proof of his acceptance of it, and as he values his salvation, to "learn what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice"—the gospel that looks the heathen oppressor equally in the face, and in the name of the living God, cries out, "go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh, as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

Friends and fellow-labourers!—Be it yours and ours to propagate such a gospel. Let us not dare to propagate any other. If we forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if we say, Behold, we knew it not; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider? and He that keepeth our soul, doth not He know? and shall not He render to every man according to his works?

We shall wait with anxious interest the action of your next annual meeting. We hope that it may be all that God and humanity demand at your hand. We "cling to the idea to the last" that it will be. If it be, none shall give it a readier proclamation, or you a heartier God-speed than we, who have thus spoken. And may the God of the oppressed give us and you a right heart, a sound mind, an honest life on this great question; and send a speedy and good deliverance to the enslaved and benighted in this and all lands.

CANADA.—ACTION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD ON SLAVERY.

At a recent session of the Synod of the Presbyterian churches in Canada, Dr. Burns proposed the following resolutions, which were adopted unanimously; which, with the accompanying letter, were directed to be trans-

mitted to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian churches in the United States.

RESOLUTIONS.

I. That there are at the present time upwards of three millions of human beings in the United States of America, who are held in bondage by their fellow creatures; are bought and sold as any article of property; and are in all essential respects as much the goods and chattels of their owners, as are their houses and lands.

II. That the proprietors of these slaves do claim the right of selling by public auction or otherwise, husbands apart from their wives, wives apart from their husbands, and children apart from their parents, and that such separations do in fact often take place, and "the rearing of slaves" for the market is well known to be a regular and lucrative trade.

III. That the existence of slavery in America as in former times in the West Indies, is and always has been attended with injustice and cruelty on the part of the proprietors—evils which no special cases of kind treatment on the part of individuals can neutralize or excuse.

IV. That in some of the southern or slave-holding states, there are laws prohibiting the teaching of slaves to read the word of God, or to attend on religious instruction except in particular cases; and those laws are fenced round by severe penalties; such laws and penalties being in direct opposition to God's word and the rights of conscience.

V. That in point of fact, gross licentiousness and great immoralities are the melancholy results of slavery, and that while these affect deeply the character of proprietors and their families, the slaves have not the means of protection from lawless lust.

VI. That the church of Christ ought never to be found in a position to prevent her from protesting against slavery and its evils, and adopting such measures as principle and duty demand for their removal.

VII. That many of the churches of America, and particularly the Presbyterian, have manifested a sinful apathy in regard to these evils; and that at Cincinnati, on the 21st of May last, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Old School) came, by a majority of 164 to 12, to the resolution that it was not their duty to take action in the matter at all; and that under the two-fold plea "that the churches of America were originally formed on the assumption that slave-holding is no bar to Christian communion;" and that the tendency of the discussion of such petitions is "to separate the Northern from the Southern portion of the church, a result," say they, "which every good citizen must deplore."

VIII. That the Synod shall transmit a copy of these resolutions to the Moderator of said Assembly, with a respectful but firm and affectionate remonstrance.

LETTER

TO THE MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

Coburg, C. W., June 9, 1845.

REV. SIR,—As Moderator, and Clerk of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, we are instructed to transmit to you, in your official character, the accompanying resolutions which have been unanimously adopted by the Synod, on Friday last.

The design of these resolutions is to intimate our decided disapproval of the particular position which your General Assembly has for so many years maintained in relation to slavery, and with all becoming affection and respect, to remonstrate with the Assembly regarding it. We are indeed a small body compared with yours, but we represent a large proportion of the settlers in this Province, and we have been called very lately, in common with our Mother Church in Scotland, to bear testimony for great principles connected with the supremacy of the Redeemer in his own house.

We were grieved that last year the Assembly at Louisville, by a large majority, declined to entertain the question of slavery at all, and still more are we grieved to observe that on the 21st day of May last, you, by a majority of 164 to 12, set aside those numerous petitions and overtures which brought the whole question before you in almost every possible shape; and we feel still more on this matter, because the grounds and reasons of your decision appear to us to be unsatisfactory.

As a court of Christ, we conceive that you had nothing to do but to look on the existing evil and its consequences in the light of scriptural principle and of Christian morality. Slavery, particularly as it exists in the United States, is at utter variance with the rights and privileges of man as a responsible agent; directly opposed to the laws of God regarding our duties to one another; and necessarily productive of oppression and licentiousness.

The laws of many States prohibit slaves from learning to read the word of God, and slavery in every one of the slaveholding States sets at defiance the law of God regarding marriage, and the tenderest relations and responsibilities of life.

But the ministers and elders of your church must be perfectly aware of the real character and results of the system, and our grief is that they should have resolved to shut their eyes to both. We affectionately represent to you the sinfulness of such conduct, and plead with you for its impartial and prayerful review.

You cannot now plead ignorance of the real state of the case, as the churches of Britain once did in regard to the slave-trade and slavery. On these subjects all the churches of Great Britain are now as one: and it is to us cause of great anxiety and alarm that there should be, in the churches of America, such diversity of sentiment regarding them. We rejoice to see that in some of these churches there have been of late some movements in the direction of sound principle, and although such movements may incidentally be productive of some inconvenience in the way of existing church fellowship, we should not for one moment set this in the balance against the firm and successful maintenance of principle.

To hold official and brotherly correspondence with the body whom you represent, would be to us very desirable, but the question of slavery involves in it obstacles to this of a very serious nature. You not only adhere to the evil, and decline to notice it, but you have extended to it your patronage, and by your late proceedings, more especially, have given its abettors the most ample encouragement.

You, indeed, profess to withhold your approval of the principle, that man is an article of absolute property, and to be dealt with as such; but

this slight reservation cannot be of any avail to you, seeing it is known to all men, that American slaveholders and slave-dealers do claim such property, and do carry out the principle involved in it to all its possible consequences.

In the resolutions which we transmit, it is not our sense to enter at large into the question. That may be done at a future period; but, in the meantime, we could not shut our eyes to appearances so ominous, and proceedings on the part of the body whom you represent so distressing to our minds.

Requesting of you an acknowledgment of these communications, and that you will give them all due publicity,

We are, Rev. Sir, respectfully and affectionately, your servants in the

ROBERT BURNS, D.D., Moderator.
WM. RINTOUL, Synod Clerk.

GREAT CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY, IN THE EASTERN AND MIDDLE STATES.

THE following circular has been issued, inviting attendance at the great Convention of the friends of liberty, in the eastern and middle States, to be held at Boston, United States of America:—

"It having been deemed advisable, after a free consultation among the friends of freedom, to hold a Convention for the promotion of the cause, to be composed of delegates from the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the undersigned do, therefore, cordially invite the friends of liberty, in these States, who are determined to employ their elective franchise for the abolition of American slavery, to assemble, one and all, in the city of Boston, on Wednesday, the 1st day of October, 1845, at ten o'clock A.M., to devise means for the advancement of the cause of human freedom in the United States. It would be gratifying to us to welcome to our deliberations, on the occasion, delegations from other States not specially designated in this invitation. The Convention will continue its sessions two or three days."

A list of signatures follows, of twenty-eight friends of the slave in Massachusetts, of eighteen in Maine, ten in New Hampshire, eleven in Vermont, five in Rhode Island, fifteen in Connecticut, twenty-one in New York, five in New Jersey, and fourteen in Pennsylvania.

WHAT IS TO BECOME OF THE SLAVES IN THE UNITED STATES?

AN admirable article under this title appears in the *True American* of August 12, the last number but one, we believe, of Cassius Clay's suppressed paper. It is stated to have been written "by one of the first intellects of the nation," and withal by a large slaveholder. The following extracts from it will be read with pleasure.

Time, we all know, is destined to loosen the bonds of the slaves in all countries, and freedom awaits them. Independently of the will of the master, and but little accelerated by the abolitionists, slavery tends to exhaust itself. The master's interest will fade away under the force of circumstances, under the progress of public opinion, under the influence of light and information. The master's responsibility will become greater than his interest, under the over production that is forcing every department of agriculture and the arts. He will rid himself of the odious and unprofitable burthen, and stand clear of the awful weight that impends and threatens his peace of mind, and that calls forth his exertions in a way unavailable. The master will leave his slave, not the slave his master, to much extent. The question then recurs, what is to become of the slave?

The slave will remain, and in the nature of things must remain on the soil where he is placed, in the swamps with which he is identified: upon the wide plains where his labour ushered forth staple productions for the great world. The colonization scheme has failed, and will fail all the time for the want of means to effectuate it, as well as the want of the will and the concert necessary to the effort. We have been near forty years colonizing Liberia, and, at an expense of five millions, have only about four thousand there, all told. No money of individuals, no resources of the nation could begin to transplant three millions and a half of human beings, poor and helpless, to a foreign strand, and support them not only in transitu, but for three years, and even for life, in order to preserve them. No tonnage could hold them, and transport them in any comfort, even if there were funds. There would then be wanting, not only the will and concert of the master and slaves, but the pecuniary means and the tonnage necessary to the operation. The natural increase of our slaves by the census rolls, is seventy-five thousand annually; and rising in a geometrical ratio, whereas we colonise five hundred a year, and run off to Canada about three hundred a year, a mere bagatelle in comparison with the increase.

All the efforts of the abolitionists, with their friends and free lines across Ohio and Pennsylvania, do not get off one thousand a year, the one-seventieth part of the increase! There are in all Canada less than ten thousand coloured persons; and most of those who throng the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and other places, are natives there, and descendants of their own old stock. No inducement, therefore, can carry from their native soil, enough to be appreciable in the general estimate; not even the strongest inducement that can be offered to the human mind, that of freedom. So dear to the being is the place of his nativity, his wonted haunts, that he adheres to it, however embittered by the remembrances of the lash, and all the indignity that slavery heaps upon his devoted head. No plan of colonisation then, whether in a foreign land or nearer to us, can accomplish aught in diminution of slavery, or affect in any way its dreary reign. The district that gave it birth will claim its continuance; if not as slaves, at least as their descendants, and they will form in such the stamina of the population.

History gives us no case where three millions and a half of human beings were removed from the land of their nativity, under any circumstances of despotism or tyranny. The whole Assyrian power carried only 70,000 Jews into Chaldea. The Roman Emperors always failed when they ordered off the people of any nation that they conquered, and actually got off none but the captives, and got rid of none but what the sword exterminated. The hordes that overrun Rome, were free men, and moved under the impulses of interest and military ambition. Colonisation under the strongest impulses and motives is a slow process. It took three hundred years to make up the colonies of this continent, English and Spanish, under the enthusiasm of religion and freedom, aided by the love of gold and adventure. England has been fifty years placing 100,000 in New Holland, counting them with their increase.

All people that have passed from slavery to freedom have remained on the soil where they were born and been placed. The vassals of Europe are now the citizens of that continent. The lowest castes of Hindostan are now the free Gentoos. The slaves who built the pyramids of Egypt are now the degraded but free Moslem of that land. The Mexicans that Cortez found in that country, working for the Emperors and the priesthood, are now the population of Mexico, and even if degraded, they are free. The Roman slaves never passed out of fair Italia, nor the helots out of Grecia. The serfs of Russia will remain and constitute the bulk of the people of that empire. The slaves of England and Hayti, are now the Haytians and the British West Indians. So will it be here, when time and circumstances shall have acted—when light and information shall have exhibited too clearly the deformity of the monster; when humanity and reason shall have ameliorated the relation of master and slave; and the master's own conscience and better feelings shall have prompted to loosen those bonds willingly, which time alone will some day loosen without his consent; then the slave disenthralled and his descendants will remain and constitute the population of the swamps of Virginia, and the borders and the Delta of the Mississippi. And why should he not continue to occupy the soil with which, not only his birth and feelings are identified, but his bitterest trials? In which he is acclimated, whose air he is fitted to breathe, whose suns his hardened constitution can resist, and whose malaria but little affect him? Intimate is the connection between man and his native country, his attachments are all there. It is there he erects the altars of his religion, and the shrines of his liberty, defiled and degraded however they may be. Let him breathe the miasmata of the swamps; let the siroccos of the desert blow upon him their full blasts; let the suns of the tropics melt his heated brain, or the eternal snows of the north chill his heart's blood; no matter, the anchor of his hope is there cast, and all his loves, all his aspirations, and all his combinations of interest are there.

The feature in our slavery most to be deprecated, as all writers and thinkers agree is the colour, the foul fast colour, as eternal as the hills, and as everlasting as the animal economy. The Roman slaves, the Grecian helots, the German and feudal vassals, the Russian serfs, when freed, mixed in the great mass of freemen, and were no more degraded, no more pointed at with scorn, and marked for an infamous race. But, alas! here the mark remains, and like the stigma upon a convicted felon, runs with his latest posterity. His own merits or the philanthropy of his master may free him, but he walks forth more to be pitied, more sunk in the scale of humanity than when in slavery. From his previous state, he is ignorant, poor, and low-spirited by habit; in his new state, he still stands marked by nature's God, with an everlasting and distinctive brand, and remains degraded, both he and his offspring, by the conventions of man. He brings with him no wealth from the low and degraded level where he has wrought as a slave; the lights of science have never shone upon his benighted and excluded existence—nor has any aspiration of ambition ever stirred his heart and lifted him up to dignity and usefulness. He goes forth into freedom a marked and degraded being. No political privileges appertain to his caste. He holds no offices—he votes not with freemen—worships not at the shrines of liberty; and is thrust forth from all the rights of citizenship. He marries no white man's daughter, sits at no white man's board, enters no white man's parlour, but cap in hand as a menial. He gives his testimony to no fact however important to the good order of society, the cause of justice or the rights of property. He fights for no country, for he has none. He enters no factory to render his labour available to himself and his country, because white operatives forbid it. He labours on no canals, or roads, or public works, because white hirelings will not associate with him even on the lowest level. He is forbid to travel or trade—to remain in the State where all his attachments are—where his meritorious conduct procured his emancipation. He goes to the next slave state: there too he is ordered off, and put in prison or sold again into slavery if he does not obey. He then goes to some free state, supposing that there he would find a home and an abiding place; but no! thence too he is driven by laws unjust and unrelenting, and is forbid a residence. With no abiding place, no home, no information, no rights political or social, no wealth, he is a wanderer on the face of the earth, and, like Cain, marked of God, but not for murder or vice. Is it to be wondered at that he should be poor, and mean, and ignorant, and even vicious and immoral, without any character cherished in him, to lift him above meanness, idleness, and vice? No wonder that he remains in slavery, and often returns to it after having freed himself from its thralls, as the least of his evils. No wonder that he continues to affiliate with slaves even when free, and manifests no aspirations for wealth and the higher comforts. When free he must carry himself humbler, and be more bowed down than when a slave, for he has to conciliate all the lords of the creation, from the nabob to the drunken bestial, to avoid mobs, stripes, and summary chastisement, for which no court opens to give him redress.

In reply to the question, What is the remedy for this state of things? he names three points. "First, Our legislatures should exert themselves to pass laws for the gradual emancipation of the slaves in their jurisdictions, and provide in some way for their education preparatory to that event. Secondly, Our legislatures, State and General, should raise the platform on which the free coloured people stand. Thirdly, As individuals, all owners of slaves should meet, and give aid to every effort going on for the emancipation of the slaves." The article concludes in the following manner:—



It is in vain for the master to try to fence his dear slaves in from all intercourse with the great world, to create his little petty and tyrannical kingdom on his own plantation, and keep it for his exclusive reign. He cannot shut out the light of information any more than the light of heaven. It will penetrate all disguises, and shine upon the dark night of slavery. He must recollect that he is surrounded. The north, the east, the west, and the south border on him,—the free West Indian, the free Mexican, the free Yankee, the more than free abolitionists of his own country. Everything trenches upon his infected district, and the wolf looks calmly in upon his fold. The very atmosphere he breathes comes fraught with liberty, amelioration, and humanity. The owner, the stern master, is giving way, and is adapting his discipline to meet the wishes of the great world. He begins to look upon his own conduct as unjust, his own discipline as cruel, and has to satisfy his own conscience by moving up to a better mark, to more humanity in his treatment, and more affiliation with his slaves. Obeying these impulses gradually will accomplish much—will cover the whole ground—go far to remove the evil—and is that happy blending into a sameness of feeling, an identity of interests, that time is so certainly bringing on. This is the process under the influence of which slavery will disappear from the face of the earth.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE LEXINGTON OUTRAGE.—The violent proceedings of the respectable mob, by which Mr. Clay's press was seized and sent off, produced their natural fruit very speedily, in the similar doings of a vulgar mob the same evening. The result was, great injury to several peaceable coloured citizens, and a state of lawless anarchy, exposing the peace of the entire city, through the evening and night. The gentlemen of the first mob, ashamed of the connection in which this placed them, met the next day, and solemnly disavowed these vulgar proceedings, drawing a broad line of distinction between mobs by gentlemen, done in an orderly manner, and mobs by outlaws, accompanied with breaking of heads and other outrages. As the distinction is somewhat a tenuous one, they will pardon the world at large for not being able to see it, and for classifying the gentlemen and the loafers of Lexington together. The disgraceful event awoke a prodigious feeling at Cincinnati. One of the largest and most respectable public meetings ever held in the city, was held on the subject, and stirring addresses made. The following resolutions were adopted:—

1. That we respectfully tender to Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, the assurance of our deep and heartfelt sympathy with him in his noble efforts in behalf of human liberty, and in the severe trials to which these efforts have exposed him.
2. That Americans who excite, or direct, or countenance mob-violence directed against free printing and free speech, employed in the discussion of great questions of public interest, are traitors to their country and their race.
3. That the actors and abettors of the recent mob proceedings at Lexington, against the printing establishment of the *True American*, must not expect to divert from themselves the just condemnation of impartial men, by perverse misconstructions of the language of its editor or correspondents; the invasion of private rights by the brute force of a mob, for the purpose—doubly criminal and doubly base—of suppressing free discussion, and gratifying personal hate, especially of a brave man, prostrated by disease, cannot be justified, excused, or palliated.

The *Cincinnati Herald* says:—"We are advised, on good authority, that a conspiracy was formed to vote down the resolutions which would be introduced at the public meeting in the evening, concerning the proceedings at Lexington; and, if this could not be done, to break up the meeting."

The *Lexington Observer* denies the report, that Mr. Clay made overtures to the mob of gentlemen, that he would stop his press if they would let him alone. If he is only true to himself, and acts with Christian prudence and a regard to God's word, he will find himself clothed with a power against slavery tenfold greater than ever.—*New York Evangelist*.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.—In answer to the repeated and anxious inquiries respecting Cassius M. Clay, we are happy to announce, that, although still an invalid, suffering with a kind of lingering fever, or irritation, he is slowly mending. As to his future course, it can hardly be expected that he has yet formed any definite plan. We think, however, we may venture to state, that Mr. Clay will never abandon, but with life, the work to which he has so often publicly and solemnly dedicated himself.—*Cincinnati Herald*, Sept. 4.

SLAVE REPRESENTATION.—There is a spirited controversy now going on between western and eastern Virginia, on the subject of equal representation. In that State the old property-qualification is still retained, a portion of their representation arising from their slave population. This gives the eastern part of the State, where the slaves are principally owned, an advantage over the western, which they are unwilling longer to submit to. From the tone of western Virginia, says a contemporary, we feel satisfied that they will have equal representation, even if it must be accomplished by division or revolution. Eastern Virginia insists on their negro property being a basis of representation. Western Virginia takes the republican ground, that white population alone shall be the basis of representation.—*Newark Eagle*.

GROSS OUTRAGE.—Our county has lately been the theatre of a most daring infraction of law and justice, by some of the citizens of a neighbouring State, assisted by others residing in the county of Franklin. Mrs. Maddocks, about two years since, removed to this county from Maryland, having in her possession a negro woman and her children, who had been bequeathed to her by a deceased husband. Shortly after her removal here, she executed a deed of manumission, giving liberty to the whole family. At her death, the individual to whom the property of her deceased husband reverted, it appears, laid a claim to the slaves whom she had manumitted; and, taking advantage of their present supposed defenceless condition, he, aided by a party of bad and reckless citizens from an adjoining county in Maryland, and also, we are told, from Franklin county, two or three weeks since, in the dead of night, approached

the house where dwelt the unsuspecting victims, seized the mother and two children, gagged them, placed them in a covered wagon, and made their escape into Maryland, before any measures could be used to arrest their progress. The poor helpless victims, no doubt, ere this, have been hopelessly merged in the mass of human slavery scattered over the south. This gross outrage has occasioned a general expression of indignant feeling from our community.—*Gettysburgh Sentinel*.

A RUNAWAY PREACHER.—A late Kentucky paper contains an advertisement offering a reward of 400 dollars for the recovery of "a negro man named Richard," who is forty years old, reads and writes very well, is a preacher, and has a license to exhort, endorsed by the elder of Stone River Circuit, or Mursfreesborough Station. The advertisement states that he preaches and sings well, and it is supposed he will try to make his living in that way. The crime for which he is advertised is two-fold—he is black, and was born contrary to the Declaration of Independence. Perhaps he has some wild notions of his responsibility as a preacher, and is inclined to give a too liberal construction to the passage, "Go ye into all the world," &c. Is not this a great country, where preachers of the everlasting gospel are advertised like stray cattle?—*New York Evangelist*.

FUGITIVES.—A gentleman from Perry County, Missouri, informs us that a few days ago he lost a very valuable slave, who crossed at Chester, and escaped into Illinois. He informs us that a very considerable number of slaves have lately escaped from that part of the State, and eluded pursuit. A few miles from the river, in Randolph county, Illinois, is a small town called Eden, in and near to which are settled a horde of abolitionists, who are organized for the business of slave-stealing. If a slave escapes and comes among them, they secrete, feed, and aid him in his escape. They are sent by a regular line to Canada; and if a slave once gets into this settlement he is never recovered. The gentleman states that the great facilities for escape have materially diminished the value of slaves in that part of the State, and that slave-property has ceased to be considered safe in the river counties in that part of Missouri.—*St. Louis New Era*.

SLAVE CASE IN PITTSBURGH.—Last Wednesday, a man named Sowers attempted to seize a coloured woman, the wife of Ezekiel Strickland, as his slave. The husband gave the alarm, the neighbours gathered quickly, and Sowers with his comrades was glad to get off. He was subsequently arrested, and required by the mayor to give bail in the sum of 200 dollars, to appear at the next term of the Court, to answer for a breach of the peace.—Having attempted, some time last winter, to obtain possession of the same woman, by seizing her without warrant, and having also had Strickland arrested at the same time, for stealing his own wife, another warrant was served upon him by Deputy Sheriff Kerr, charging him with being guilty of false imprisonment, and bail to the amount of 1,500 dollars was required of him. Finding himself in rather an awkward predicament, he was glad to accept a proposition made by Wm. E. Austin, Esq., the substance of which was, that he should manumit the woman, and have all the suits against him discontinued. The days of slave-catching in Pittsburgh seem to be over.—*Cincinnati Herald*.

I have had an interesting interview with Judge Lee, of Virginia, the executor of John Randolph's will—a will which bequeathed freedom to nearly 400 slaves. But a prize, so eagerly coveted by the heirs, as 200,000 dollars worth of human flesh, could not be relinquished without a severe struggle. Randolph, aware of this; had guarded his will which manumitted them with all possible care against infraction. Thanks to a kind Providence, his fortification proved impregnable. After running the gauntlet of a pertinacious litigation for nearly ten long years, "the poor creatures have at length escaped the clutches of cupidity, and had their right to freedom established by the highest judicial power of the State." These negroes are, of course, of all ages and sexes. A legacy of 25,000 dollars left to them, after defraying the expenses of litigation, will furnish them a farm of forty acres to each family, with a cabin, and the necessary fixtures and utensils for cultivating it.—*Correspondent of the Watchman of the Valley*.

A WHITE FUGITIVE FROM SLAVERY.—A Mr. P. Lee, of Maysville, Kentucky, advertises seven runaway slaves, and offers a reward of seven hundred dollars for their apprehension and arrest. Among the fugitives was an infant four months old, and a white woman described thus by Mr. Lee:—"Fanny, the mother of four children, is about twenty-five years of age, white as most white women—straight light hair!"

THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE LEVANT, it is said, is carried on to an enormous extent, and with perfect impunity. There have been several extensive shipments of Nubian slaves made in Alexandria on board of Greek and Turkish vessels bound for Smyrna and Constantinople, and from the latter port there are frequent arrivals of Circassian slaves. No objection whatever to this traffic is made by the European consuls.—*New York Evangelist*.

VILLANOUS KIDNAPPING.—When the Lucy Walker exploded, Captain Vann, her commander, had eleven negroes on board, of whom three were killed, and five were badly wounded, and three escaped unhurt to the Indiana shore. These three were seized in Indiana by two white men, who crossed the river with them, from New Albany to Portland, about ten o'clock that night; neither the white men nor the negroes have been since heard of.—*Louisiana Journal*.

GENEROUS ACT.—We are informed that Gerrit Smith recently paid 500 dollars to secure the liberty of a slave in Tennessee. On appearing at Mr. Smith's to thank his benefactor, he exposed his body to him and several others—it was terribly scarred in many parts, showing that a great amount of suffering had been endured by the poor fellow. Rich blessings, for ever, on Mr. Smith.—*Syracuse Star*.

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